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Per 1792.23

A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

EVIDENCE

ON THE

SLAVE - TRADE;

DESIGNED

To point out the HORRID NATURE

OF

THAT TRAFFIC.

To which are added,

SOME OBSERVATIONS on the DISUSE

OF

SUGAR, RUM, &c.

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1792.

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To the PUBLIC.

Notwithstanding the infernal traffic of dealing in human flesh, called The SLAVE TRADE, has now continued for near two hundred and forty years, there are thousands of persons in this kingdom who know little or nothing of its horrid nature, and can therefore have but little sympathy with the oppressed slaves.

In order to diffuse the knowledge of this unjust, this cruel, and abominable practice, the following sheets are now published. They are designed to point out the methods of taking the slaves on the African coast, of treating them on the passage, selling them in the West-Indies, the cruelties used towards them in their slavery, and their unhappy fate when, by age or sickness, they are past labour.

What is here exhibited is not raised by an heated imagination, nor exaggerated by hyperbolical phrases, but is collected from calm, deliberate evidence; evidence given upon oath by men of honour and veracity, who were eye-witnesses of many of those dreadful scenes of barbarity. The facts are taken chiefly from "An Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the years 1790 and 1791." Some fragments are taken from a pamphlet entitled,

"Thoughts on Slavery," by the late Rev. John Wesley; and a few observations on the disuse of Sugar, Rum, &c. from anonymous authors. The editor of this pamphlet, ardently wishes to contribute his mite towards the just relief of myriads of his fellow creatures, and the removal of that curse which hangs over this guilty land, for having murdered such numbers of the human race. Should the least advantage arise to the oppressed from this publication, the praise shall be ascribed to Him in whom all creatures live, and move, and have their being.

A

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SUMMARY VIEW
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EVIDENCES
ON THE
SLAVE-TRADE.

THE method of obtaining Slaves on the African Coast, in the beginning of the trade, about the year 1536, was, by sending men from our ships to seize as many as they found, men, women and children. Thus Sir John Hawkins, in the year above-mentioned, sailed with two ships to Cape Verd, where he sent eighty men on shore to catch Negroes. But the natives flying, they fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, "to burn their towns and take the inhabitants."

It was some time before the Europeans found a more compendious way of procuring African Slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners. Till then they had seldom any wars upon their coast, but were in general quiet and peaceable. But the white men first taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Nay, by this means, even their Kings have been induced to sell their own subjects. So Mr. Moore (Factor of the African Company in 1730) informs us, "When the King of Barfalli wants Goods or Brandy, he sends to the English Governor at James's Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours' towns, selling the people for the goods he

wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects." So Monf. Brue says, "I wrote to the King (not the same) if he had a sufficient number of Slaves I would treat with him. He seized three hundred of his own people; and sent word he was ready to deliver them for the goods." The same plan is still pursued, and other means have been devised in order to keep up this horrid traffic; which we shall clearly see from the following testimonies, delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

The trade for Slaves (says Mr. Kiernan) in the river Senegal, was chiefly with the Moors, on the Northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; that is, lying in wait near a village, where there was *no open war*, and seizing whom they could.

Mr. Dalrymple found that the great droves (called Caffellas or Caravans) of slaves brought from inland, by way of Galam, to Senegal and Gambia, were prisoners of war. Those sold to vessels at Goree, and near it, were procured either by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage, or by robbery of individuals, or in consequence of crimes. The grand pillage is executed by the king's soldiers, from three hundred to three thousand at a time, who attack and set fire to a village, and seize the inhabitants as they can. The smaller parties generally lie in wait about the villages, and take off all they can surprise; which is also done by individuals, who do not belong to the king, but are private robbers.

Captain Wilson says, that slaves are either procured by intestine wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crimes real or imputed, or kidnapping.

Villages are broken up by the king's troops surrounding them in the night, and seizing such of the inhabitants as suit their purpose. This practice is most common when there is no war with another state.

It is universally acknowledged that free persons are sold for real or imputed crimes, for the benefit of their judges.

Mr. Wadstrom says, the king of Sallum prevailed on a woman to come into his kingdom, and tell him some millet. On her arrival, he seized and sold her to a French officer.

Captain Hills saw, while lying between Goree and the continent, the natives, in an evening, often go out in war dresses, to obtain slaves for king Damel, to be sold.

The war-men used to go out, Mr. Bowman says, once or twice in eight or ten days, while he was at Scaffus. They always came to the factory before setting out, and demanded powder, ball, gun flints, and small shot; also rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and set off. If they met with no slaves, they would bring him some ivory and camwood. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or so, and once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the slaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a small river, when he was told they had but a little way farther to go. Having crossed the river, they stopped till dark. Here Mr. Bowman was afraid to go farther, and prevailed on the king's son to leave him a guard of four men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, by which he understood they had reached a town. In about half an hour more they returned, bringing from twenty-five to thirty men, women, and children, some at the breast. At this time he saw the town *in flames*.

Sir George Young found slaves to be procured by war, by crimes, *real or imputed*, by kidnapping, and a fourth mode was, the inhabitants of one village seizing those of another weaker village, and selling them to the ships.

Mr. Falconbridge says, that on his second voyage at Cape Mount and the Windward Coast, a man was brought

brought on board, well known to the captain and his officers, and was purchased. This man said he had been invited one evening to drink with his neighbours. When about to depart, two of them got up to seize him: he would have escaped, but was stopped by a large dog. He said this mode of kidnapping was common in his country.

At Secundee, Mr. Marsh made no scruple of shewing Mr. How the stores of the factory. They consisted of different kinds of chains made of iron, as likewise an instrument made of wood, about five inches long, an inch in diameter, or less, which he was told by Mr. Marsh was thrust into a man's mouth horizontally, and tied behind to prevent him from crying out, when transported at night along the country.

Dr. Trotter once saw a black trader send his canoe to take three fishermen employed in the offing, who were immediately brought on board, and put in irons.

Mr. Falconbridge has heard that the great men on this part of the coast, *dress up and employ women, to entice young men to be connected with them, that they may be convicted of adultery and sold.*

Mr. Ellison says, that while one of the ships he belonged to, viz. the Briton, was lying in Benin river, Capt. Lemma Lemma, a Benin trader, came on board to receive his customs. This man being on the deck, and happening to see a canoe with three people in it, crossing the river, dispatched one of his own canoes to seize and take it. Upon overtaking it, they brought it to the ship. It contained three persons, an old man and a young man and woman. The chief mate bought the two latter, but the former being too old, was refused. Upon this, Lemma ordered the old man into the canoe, where his head was chopped off, and he was thrown overboard.

In Africa, a piratical expedition for making slaves, is termed war. A considerable trader at Bonny explained the meaning of this word, and said, that they
went

went in the night, set fire to towns, and caught the people as they fled from the flames.

Mr. F. says, that in his third voyage, a woman was brought on board big with child. As she attracted his notice, he asked her, by means of the interpreter, how she came to be sold. Her reply was, that returning home from a visit, she was seized, and after being passed through various hands, was brought down to the water-side, and sold to a trader, who afterwards sold her to the ship.

In the same voyage an elderly man brought on board said (through the interpreter) that he and his son were seized as they were planting yams, by professed kidnappers.

On his last voyage, a canoe came along side his vessel, belonging to a noted trader in slaves, from which a fine stout fellow was handed on board, and sold. Mr. F. seeing the man amazed and confounded when he discovered himself to be a slave, inquired of him, by means of an interpreter, why he was sold. He replied, he had had occasion to come to Bonny to this trader's house, who asked if he had ever seen a ship—Replying no, the trader said, he would treat him with the sight of one. The man consenting, said he was thereupon brought on board, and thus treacherously sold.

Mr. Douglas, when ashore at Bonny Point, saw a young woman come out of the wood to the water-side to bathe. Soon afterwards two men came from the wood, seized, bound, and beat her for making resistance, and bringing her to him, Mr. D. desired him to put her on board, which he did; for the captain's orders were, when any body brought down slaves, instantly to put them off to the ship.

When a ship arrives at Bonny, the king sends his war canoes up the rivers, where they surprise all they can lay hold of. They had a young man on board, who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and three sisters.

Captain

Captain Hall has seen from three to ten canoes in a fleet, each with from forty to sixty paddlers, and twenty to thirty traders and other people with muskets, suppose one to each man, with a three or four pounder lashed on the bow of the canoe. They are generally absent from ten days to three weeks, when they return with a number of slaves pinioned, or chained together.

Mr. J. Parker says, he left the ship to which he belonged at Old Calabar, where being kindly received by the king's son, he staid with him on the continent for five months. During this time he was prevailed upon by the king's son, to accompany him to *war*.^{*} Accordingly, having fitted out, and armed the canoes, they went up the river Calabar. In the day time they lay under the bushes when they approached a village, but at night flew up to it, and took hold of every one they could see; these they handcuffed, brought down to the canoes, and so proceeded up the river till they got to the amount of forty-five, with whom they returned to New-town, where sending to the captains of the shipping, they divided them among the ships.

About a fortnight after this expedition, they went again, and were out eight or nine days, plundering other villages higher up the river. They seized on much the same number as before, brought them to New-town, gave the same notice, and disposed of them as before among the ships.

They took man, woman and child, as they could catch them in the houses, and except sucking children, who went with their mothers, there was no care taken to prevent the separation of the children from their parents when sold.

The natives of Africa being made slaves, are brought down for sale to the European ships.

Our Surgeons thoroughly examine them, and that quite naked, women and men, without any distinction:

^{*} The reader is earnestly requested to take notice, that the word *war*, as adopted into the African language, means in general robbery, or a marauding expedition, for the purpose of getting slaves.

tion. Those that are approved are set on one side. In the mean time, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the Company, lies in the fire, with which they are marked on the breast, and frequently on their cheeks. Thus, in the Supplement to the Cornwall Chronicle of Nov. 7, 1789, there are 135 runaways advertised, viz. 48 with, and 87 without brands. Of the former some have two, three and four brands on the face, breasts and shoulders. One is "marked D. E. on both cheeks and left shoulder."

When brought on board, says Dr. Trotter, they shew signs of *extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections*; many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves on board his ship being often heard in the night, making an howling melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish, he repeatedly ordered the woman who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cause. She discovered it to be owing to their having dreamt they were in *their own country again*, and finding themselves when awake, in *the hold of a slave ship*. This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the women, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysteric fits.

The foregoing description as far as relates to their dejection when brought on board, and the cause of it, is confirmed by Hall, Wilson, Claxton, Ellison, Towne, and Falconbridge, the latter of whom relates an instance of a young woman who cried and pined away after being brought on board, who recovered when put on shore, and who hung herself when informed she was to be sent again to the ship.

Captain Hall says, after the first eight or ten of them come on board, the men are put into irons. They are linked two and two together by the hands and feet, in which situation they continue till they arrive in the West-Indies, except such as may be sick, whose irons
are

are then taken off. The women however, he says, are always loose.

On being brought up in a morning, says Surgeon Wilson, an additional mode of securing them takes place, for to the shackles of each pair of them there is a ring, through which is reeved a large chain, which locks them all in a body to ring-bolts fastened to the deck.

The time of their coming up in the morning, if fair, is described by Mr. Towne to be between eight and nine, and the time of their remaining there to be till four in the afternoon, when they are again put below till the next morning. In the interval of being upon deck they are fed twice. They have also a pint of water allowed to each of them a day, which being divided is served out to them at two different times, namely, after their meals.

These meals, says Mr. Falconbridge, consist of rice, yams, and horse-beans, with now and then a little beef and bread. After meals they are made to *jump in their irons*. This is called *dancing* by the slave-dealers. *In every ship* he has been desired to *flog such as would not jump*. He had generally a cat of nine tails in his hand among the women, and the chief mate another among the men. &

The parts, says Mr. Claxton, on which their shackles are fastened, are often excoriated by the violent exercise they are thus forced to take, of which they made many grievous complaints to him. In his ship even those who had the flux, scurvy, and such œdematous swellings in their legs as made it painful to them to move at all, were compelled to dance by the cat.

Dr. Trotter says, the slaves in the passage are so crowded below, that it is impossible to walk through them, *without treading* on them. Those, who are out of irons, are *locked spoonways* (in the *technical phrase*) to one another. It is the first mate's duty to see them stowed in this way every morning; those who
do

do not get quickly into their places, are compelled by a *cat-of-nine-tails*.

When the scuttles are obliged to be shut, the gratings are not sufficient for airing the rooms. He never himself could breathe freely, unless immediately under the hatchway. He has seen the slaves drawing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, *which are observed in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air pump.* He has also seen them when the tarpawlings have inadvertently been thrown over the gratings, attempting to heave them up; crying out in their own language, "*We are dying:*" on removing the tarpawlings and gratings, they would fly to the hatchway with all the signs of terror, and dread of suffocation. Many of them he has seen in a dying state, but some have recovered by being brought on the deck; others were irrecoverably lost, *by suffocation, having had no previous signs of indisposition.*

Mr. Falconbridge says, they had not so much room *as a man in his coffin*, either in length or breadth. It was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease. He had often occasion to go from one side of their rooms to the other, in which case he always *took off his shoes*, but could not avoid pinching them. In every voyage when the ship was full they complained of heat and want of air. Confinement in this situation was so injurious, that he has known them *go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning.*

He was never among them below for ten minutes together, but his shirt was as wet as if dipt in water.

His ship the *Alexander*, coming out of Bonny, got aground on the bar, and was detained there six or seven days, with a great swell and heavy rain. At this time the air ports were obliged to be shut, and part of the gratings on the weather side covered; almost all the men-slaves were taken ill with the flux. The last time he went down to see them it was so hot, that he took off

his shirt. *More than twenty of them had then fainted, or were fainting.* He got several of them hawled on deck: two or three of these died, and most of the rest before they reached the West-Indies. He was down only about fifteen minutes, and became so ill by it that he could not get up without help, and was disabled from doing duty the rest of the passage. On board the same ship he has known two or three instances of a *dead and living slave found in the morning shackled together.*

The crowded state of the slaves, and the pulling off the shoes by the surgeons as described above, that they might not hurt them in traversing their rooms, are additionally mentioned by Surgeons Wilson and Claxton.

Mr. Ellison has seen them faint through heat, and obliged to be brought on deck, the steam coming up through the gratings like a furnace.

Of the different incidents on the passage, Mr. Falconbridge says, that there is a place in every ship for the sick slaves, but there are no accommodations for them, for *they lie on the bare planks.* He has seen frequently the prominent parts of their bones about the shoulder-blade and knees, *bare.*

He says he cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting as that of slaves when ill of the flux: in the *Alexander*, the deck was covered with blood and mucus, resembling a slaughter-house. The stench and foul air were intolerable.

He has known several slaves on board refuse sustenance, *with a design to starve themselves.* Compulsion was used in every ship he was in to make them take their food. He has known also many instances of their refusing to take medicines when sick, because *they wished to die.* A woman on board the *Alexander*, was dejected from the moment she came on board, and refused both food and medicine: being asked by the interpreter what she wanted, she replied, *nothing but to die*—and she did die. Many other slaves expressed the same wish.

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The ships, he says, are *fitted up with a view to prevent slaves jumping overboard*; notwithstanding which he has known instances of their doing so. In the *Alexander* two were lost in this way. In the same voyage, near twenty jumped overboard out of the *Enterprize*, Capt. Wilton.

In his first voyage he saw a woman chained to the deck who was mad. On his second voyage, there was a woman on board his own ship, whom they were forced to chain. He ascribes this insanity to *their being torn from their connections and country*.

Doctor Trotter, on the same subject, says, that a man sold with his family for witchcraft, (of which he had been accused, *out of revenge*, by a Cabosheer, or great man), refused all sustenance after he came on board. Early next morning it was found he had attempted to cut his throat. Dr. Trotter sewed up the wound, but the following night the man had not only torn out the sutures, but had made a similar attempt on the other side. From the ragged edges of the wound, and the blood upon his finger ends, it appeared to have been done with his nails; for though strict search was made through all the rooms, no instrument was found. He declared *he never would go with white men*, uttered incoherent sentences, and looked wishfully at the skies. His hands were secured, but *persisting to refuse all sustenance*, he died of hunger in eight or ten days.

He remembers an instance of a woman who perished from refusing food: she was repeatedly flogged, and victuals forced into her mouth, but *no means* could make her swallow it, and she lived for the four last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

A man jumped overboard at Anamaboe, and was drowned: another, on the middle passage, but he was taken up. A woman, after having been taken up, was chained for some time to the mizen mast, but being let loose again made a second attempt, was again taken up, and expired under the floggings given her in consequence.

Mr. Wilson, on the same subject, relates, *among many cases where force was necessary* to oblige the slaves to take food, that of a young man, who had not been long on board before he perceived him get thin. On inquiry he found the man had not taken his food, and refused taking any. Mild means were then used to divert him from his resolution, as well as promises that he should have any thing he wished for: but still he refused to eat. They then whipped him with the cat, but this also was ineffectual. He always kept his teeth so fast, that it was impossible to get any thing down. They then endeavoured to introduce a Speculum Oris between them: but the points were too obtuse to enter, and next tried a *bolus knife*, but with the same effect. In this state he was four or five days, when he was brought up as dead, to be thrown overboard; but Mr. Wilson finding life still existing, repeated his endeavours, though in vain, and two days afterwards he was brought up again in the same state as before. He then seemed to wish to get up. The crew assisted him, and brought him ast to the fire place, when in a feeble voice, in his own tongue he asked for water, which was given him. Upon this they began to have hopes of dissuading him from his design, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, *and resolved to die*, and on the ninth day from his first refusal he died.

Mr. Wilson says it hurt his feelings much to be obliged to use the cat so frequently to force them to take their food. In the very act of chastisement, they have looked at him with a smile, and in their own language have said, "*presently we shall be no more.*"

In the same ship a woman found means to convey below some rope-yarn, which she tied to the head of the armourer's vice, then in the woman's room. She fastened it round her neck, and in the morning was found dead, with her head lying on her shoulder, whence it appeared, she must have used great exertions to accomplish her end. A young woman also hanged herself, by tying rope-yarns to a batten, near her usual sleeping

sleeping place, and then slipped off the platform. The next morning she was found warm, and proper means were used for her recovery, but in vain.

In the same ship also, when off Annabona, a slave in the sick list jumped overboard, and was picked up by the natives, but died soon afterwards. At another time, when at sea, the captain and officers heard the alarm of a slave's being overboard, they perceived him making every exertion to drown himself. He *put his head under water, but lifted his hands up; and thus went down, as if exulting that he had got away.*

A woman, who was brought on board, refused sustenance, neither would she speak. She was then ordered the thumb-screws*, suspended in the mizen rigging, and every attempt was made with the cat to compell her to eat, *but to no purpose.* She died in three or four days afterwards. She said the night before she died, *she was going to her friends.*

There was a child on board of nine months old, which refused to eat, for which the captain took it up in his hand, and flogged it with a cat, saying at the same time, "Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you." The same child having swelled feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, *though the ship's cook told him it was too hot.* This brought off the skin and nails. He then ordered sweet oil and cloths, which Isaac Parker himself applied to the feet; and as the child at mess time again refused to eat, the captain again took it up and flogged it, and tied a log of mangowood eighteen or twenty inches long, and of twelve or thirteen pounds weight, round its neck, as a punishment. He repeated the flogging for four days together at mess time. The last time after flogging it, he let it drop out of his hand, with the same expression as before, and in about three quarters of an hour the child died. He then called its own mother to heave it

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overboard,

* To shew the severity of this punishment, Mr. Dove says, that while two slaves were under the torture of the thumb-screws, the sweat ran down their faces, and they trembled as under a violent ague fit.

overboard, and beat her for refusing. He, however, forced her to take it up, and go to the ship's side, *where holding her head on one side to avoid the sight, she dropped her child overboard, after which she cried for many hours.*

Some of the slaves frequently attempted to rise, but were prevented; others rose, but were quelled, and others rose, and succeeded, killing almost all the whites. Mr. Town, inquiring of the slaves into the cause of these insurrections, has been asked, *what business he had to carry them from their country. They had wives and children, whom they wanted to be with.* After an insurrection, Mr. Ellison says, he has seen them flogged, and the cook's tormentors and tongs *heated to burn their flesh.* Mr. Newton also adds, that it is usual for captains, after insurrections and plots happen, to flog the slaves. Some captains, on board whose ships he has been, added the thumb-screw, and one in particular told him repeatedly that he *had put slaves to death after an insurrection by various modes of torture.*

The second sort of incident on the passage is mentioned by Mr. Falconbridge in the instance of an English vessel *blowing up off Galenas*, and most of the men-slaves, *entangled in their irons, perishing.*

About twenty years ago, a ship from Africa, with about four hundred slaves on board, struck upon some shoals, called the Morant Keys, distant eleven leagues, S. S. E. off the East end of Jamaica. The officers and seamen of the ship landed in their boats, carrying with them arms and provisions. The slaves were left on board in their irons and shackles. This happened in the night time. The Morant Keys consist of three small sandy islands, and he understood that the ship had struck upon the shoals, at about half a league to windward of them. When morning came, it was discovered that the negroes had got out of their irons, and were busy making rafts, upon which they placed the women and children; the men and others capable of swimming, attended upon the rafts, whilst they drifted before the wind

wind towards the island where the seamen had landed. From an *apprehension* that the negroes would consume the water and provisions which the seamen had landed, they came to the resolution of destroying them, by their fire-arms and other weapons. As the poor wretches approached the shore, *they actually destroyed between three and four hundred of them.* Out of the whole cargo *only thirty-three or thirty-four were saved,* and brought to Kingston, where Mr. Ross saw them sold at public vendue, *i. e.* auction.

With respect to the mortality of slaves in the passage, it appears from the evidence of many persons of undoubted veracity, *Abst. p. 47 and 48,* that out of 7904, slaves purchased, 2053 were lost on their passage.

The causes of the disorders which carry off the slaves in such numbers, are ascribed by Mr. Falconbridge to a *diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, a putrid atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrements, and being shackled together.*

Surgeon Wilson speaks nearly in the same manner. He says, that of the death of two-thirds of those who died in his ship, the primary cause was *melancholy.* This was evident not only from the *symptoms* of the disorder, and the circumstances that *no one who had it was ever cured,* whereas those who had it not, and yet were ill, *recovered,* but from the language of the slaves themselves, who declared *that they wished to die,* as also from Captain Smith's own declaration, who said *their deaths were to be ascribed to their thinking so much of their situation.* Though several died of the flux, he attributes their death primarily to the cause before assigned; for, says he, their original disorder was a *fixed melancholy,* and the symptoms lowness of spirits and despondency. Hence they refused food. This only encreased the symptoms. The stomach afterwards got weak. Hence the belly ached, fluxes ensued, and they were carried off.

Mr. Town, says, " they often fall sick, sometimes owing to the crowded state, but *mostly to grief for being*
carried

carried away from their country and friends." This he knows from inquiring frequently (which he was enabled to do by understanding their language) into the circumstances of their grievous complaints.*

Mr. Wilson states, that his reason for quitting his late employment was, that he did not like to continue in a trade that did not perfectly coincide with his ideas, and was not to his satisfaction, being *obliged* to make use of means for the preservation of the cargo, *contrary to his feelings and sense of humanity.*

Mr. Falconbridge declares, that in his first and second voyage he reflected but little on the justice or injustice of the trade. In his last voyage he reflected more, and *the more he did so, the more he was convinced it was an unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and he could not reconcile it to his conscience.* This was the reason for his leaving it.

Captain Wilson declares from the whole of his experience, as an *impartial man*, he has long since formed an opinion, (*which each succeeding day's experience has justified and confirmed*) that it is a trade evidently *founded on injustice and treachery, manifestly carried on by oppression and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating in murder.*

Captain Hall declares, that when he left the trade he could have obtained the command of a ship in it, *which would have been a very lucrative one, but that he quitted it from a conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.*

When the vessels arrive at their destined ports, the negroes are again exposed, naked, to the eyes of all that flock together, and the examination of their purchasers. Then they are separated to the plantations of their

* It is evident from hence, *that no regulation of the trade can heal the evils in this branch of the subject.* It can never cure *a diseased mind.* It can never prevent an *injured* people from *rising if out of irons*, nor can it take away corrupted air, unless it reduce the number to be carried so low, as not to make it worth the while of the slave-merchants to transport them.

their several masters, to see each other no more. Here you may see mothers hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breasts with tears, and daughters clinging to their parents, till the whipper soon obliges them to part. And what can be more wretched than the condition they then enter upon. Banished from their country, from their friends and relations for ever, from every comfort of life, they are reduced to a state scarce any way preferable to that of beasts of burden.

They are sold either by scramble, by publick auction, or by lots.

The slaves sold by publick auction are generally the *refuse*, or sickly slaves; these sell *greatly under price*. Falconbridge has known them sold for *five dollars each*, Town for a *Guinea*, and Mr. Hercules Ross as low as a *single dollar*.

General Tottenham says, that he once observed at Barbadoes a number of slaves that had been landed from a ship. They were brought into the yard adjoining the place of sale. Those that were not very ill were put into little huts, and those that were worse were left in the yard to die, for *nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink; and some of them lived three days in that situation*.

A Gentleman now in the West-India Islands, says, "When the vessel is come to an anchor, the number of slaves on board, the country from whence they were brought, and the day of their sale are published in the newspaper. Two days before they are taken out of the ship, their heads are shaved, &c to make them look clean. On the day appointed, the buyers flock from all parts, just as butchers do to one of our fairs in England, and are led to the spot where these unfortunate creatures are, by a flag hoisted over the yard. Sometimes they are divided into lots, and the buyers give so much per head, for old and young in the lot. At other times they scramble for them as it is called. In this mode

mode the buyer goes into the yard, and the first he seizes becomes his property, at such a price. When the slaves see the purchasers run towards them with open arms, their cries are almost insupportable even by those who well know them. At a public auction, the buyers search every joint about them, just as a butcher searches a beast."

Mr. Newton says, that in none of the sales he saw was there any care ever taken to prevent such slaves as were relations from being separated. *They were separated as sheep and lambs by the butcher.*

With respect to the treatment the slaves meet with when sold, Mr Woolrich says, that he never knew the best master in the West-Indies use his slaves so well as the worst master his servants in England; that their state is inconceivable; that it cannot be described to the full understanding of those who have never seen it, and that a sight of some gangs would convince more than all words.

To come to a more particular description of their treatment, it will be proper to divide them into different classes. The first may be said to consist of those who are bought for the *plantation use*. These will be artificers of various descriptions, and the * field slaves.—The second will consist of what may be termed *in or out-door slaves*. The former are domesticks both in town and country, and the latter porters, fishermen, boatmen, and the like.

The field slaves are called out by day-light to their work. For this purpose the shell blows, and they hurry into the field. If they are not there in time, they are flogged. When put to their work, they perform it in rows, and *without exception under the whip of drivers*, a certain number of whom are allotted to each gang. They continue, with two intermissions, (One for half an hour in the morning, and the other for two hours at noon) till sun-set.

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* Among these are again included watchmen, drivers, and head-negroes.

The above description, however, does not include the whole of their operations for the day, for it is expected that they shall range about and pick grafs for the cattle, either in the interval of rest, or after the labour of the day; and if they do not bring it in sufficient quantities they are punished.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the almost total want of indulgence which the women slaves frequently experience during the operations in the field. Much the same work, says Mr. Cook, was expected from pregnant women as others. He has seen them hoeing till within a few hours of their delivery, and has known them receive thirty-nine lashes while in this state. Mr. Rees observing the gangs at work, saw a pregnant woman rather behind the rest. The driver called her to come on, and going back struck her with the whip. He asked another pregnant woman, if she was forced to work like the rest, and she said, Yes. They were sent again after the month to labour with the children upon their backs, and so little time afforded them to attend their wants, that Captain Hall has seen a woman seated to give suck to her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.

In the crop season, the labour is of much longer duration. Weakly handed estates, which are far the most numerous, form their negroes in crop into two spells, which generally change at twelve at noon, and twelve at night. The boilers and others about the works, relieved at twelve at noon, cut canes from half past one till dark, when they carry cane tops or grafs to the cattle pens, and then they may rest till twelve at night, when they relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they themselves had been relieved at at twelve in the day.

Mr. Cook states, that in crop time they work in general about eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and are often hurt *through mere fatigue and want of sleep*. He knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding

feeding it, who being overcome with sleep, dropped against the rollers.

With respect to the slaves food, the best allowance is evidently at Barbadoes, and the following is the account of it. Each slave had a pint of grain for twenty-four hours, and sometimes half a rotten herring when to be had. When the herrings were *unfit for the whites*, they were bought up by the planters *for the slaves*. Mr. Davis says, that on those estates in Barbadoes where he has seen the slaves' allowance dealt out, a grown negro had nine pints of corn, and about one pound of salt fish a week, but the grain of the West-Indies is much lighter than wheat. The Dean of Middleham also mentions nine pints per week as the quantity given, but that he has known masters abridge it in the time of crop. This is the greatest allowance mentioned throughout the whole of the evidence, and this is one of the cases in which the slaves had provisions but no land.

Mr. J. Terry has known them, on estates *where they have been worse fed than on others*, eat the putrid carcases of animals also. Dead mules, horses, and cows, says Mr. Coor, were all burnt under the inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night to eat them *through hunger*.

As to their clothing, Woolrich and Coor agree, that as far as their experience went, the masters did not expend for the clothing of their slaves more than half a crown or three shillings a year; and Cook says that *one half of them go almost naked in the field*.

Mr. Woolrich says their houses are small square huts, built with poles, and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo, and built by the slaves themselves. He describes them as lying in the middle of these huts before a small fire, but to have no bedding.

The in-door slaves, are allowed by all the evidences to be better clothed, and less worked than the others, and invariably to look better. Some, however, complain of
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their being much pinched for food, and the women often so as to be driven to prostitution. Their life is wretched, by being continually under the eye of their masters and mistresses, and therefore continually subject to be teized and mortified at their caprice.

The situation of the out-door slaves is considered to be very hard, for they are often unable to find work, and to earn the stated sum, and yet, if they fail, they are severely punished.

So is that of porters, who are allowed to work out, and at the end of the week obliged to bring home to their masters a certain weekly sum. Their situation is much aggravated by having no fixed rates. If, on being offered too little for their work, they remonstrate, they are often beaten, and receive nothing, and should they refuse the next call from the same person, they are summoned before a magistrate, and punished on the parade for refusal.

To the same description belong those unhappy females, who have leave to go out for prostitution, and are obliged to bring their owners a certain payment per week. Handsome women are expected to bring home more money than the ordinary. *They are punished if they return without the full wages of their prostitution.*

With respect to their punishments—in the towns many people have their slaves flogged upon their own premisses, in which case it is performed by a man who is paid for it, and who goes round the town in quest of delinquents. But those, who do not chuse to disturb their neighbours with the slaves cries, send them to the wharfs or gaol, where they are corrected also by persons paid. At other times they are whipped publicly round the town, and at others tied down, or made to stand in some publick place, and receive it there.

When they are flogged on the wharfs, to which they go for the convenience of the cranes and weights, they have their *arms tied to the hooks of the crane, and weights of fifty six pounds applied to their feet.* In this situation the crane is wound up, so that it lifts them nearly
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from the ground, and keeps them in a stretched posture, when the whip or cow-skin is used. After this they are again whipped, but with *ebony bushes* (much more prickly than the thorn bushes in this country) in order *to let out the congealed blood*. Captain Scott says, that he saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by the hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and, with the assistance of another, taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, the wharfinger thought *he had staid too long on an errand*.

Respecting the whippings in gaol and round the town, Dr. Harrison attended a man, who had been flogged in goal by his master's order, *for not coming when he was called*; who was ill in consequence five or six weeks. He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds made by the whip.

On the other mode General Tottenham observes, that he was at a planter's house when the jumper came. He heard him ask the master if he had any commands for him. The master replied, No. The jumper then asked the mistress, who replied, Yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen lashes. The General expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The jumper carried a long whip like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back. He gave her a dozen, and with every stroke brought flesh from her. The other had the same punishment.

The punishments *in the country* by means of the whip and cow-skin appear to differ, except in one instance,

stance, from those which have been mentioned of *the town*.

It is usual for those who do not come into the field in time to be punished. In this case, a few steps before they join the gang they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and patiently take ten, fifteen, or twenty lashes.

The mode of punishment, as seen by Captain Smith and several others (and which is the general mode) was as follows :—A negro was stretched on his belly on the ground, with a slave to hold each hand and leg, or each hand and leg was fastened to a stake. The punishment was inflicted by a negro with a long whip tapering from the size of a man's thumb to a small lash. At every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the punishment.

There is another mode described by Mr. Coor. About eight o'clock, says he, the overseer goes to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders a black man to follow him; for it is then usual to take such out of the stocks, and flog them before the overseer's house. The method is generally this:—The delinquent is stripped and tied on a ladder, his legs on the sides, and his arms over his head, and sometimes a rope is tied round his middle. The driver whips him on the bare skin, and if the overseer thinks he does not lay it on hard enough, he sometimes knocks him down with his own hand, or makes him change places with the delinquent, and be severely whipped. Mr. Coor has known many receive on the ladder, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty lashes, and some two cool hundreds, as they are generally called. He has known many returned to confinement, and in one, two or three days, brought to the ladder, and receive the same compliment as before. They seldom take them off the ladder, until all the skin, from the hams to the small of the back, appears only raw flesh and blood, and then they wash the parts with salt pickle. This appeared to him, from the convulsions it occasioned, more

cruel than the whipping, but it was done to prevent mortification. He has known many after such whipping sent to the field under a guard and worked all day, with no food but what their friends might give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has known them returned to the stocks at night, and worked next day, successively. This cruel whipping, hard working and starving has, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. He remembers fourteen slaves, who, from bad treatment rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together.

With respect to the *severity* of these punishments, it may be shewn by describing the nature of the instrument with which they are inflicted, and the effect it produces wherever it is seriously applied.

The whip is generally made of plaited cowskin, with a thick strong lash. It is so formidable an instrument in the hands of some of the overseers, that by means of it they can take the skin off a horse's back. On its application on a slave's back, the blood spurts out immediately on the first stroke.*

The incisions are sometimes so deep *that you may lay your fingers in the wounds*. There are also *wheals* says Mr. Coor, *from their hams to the small of their backs*. These wheals, cuts, or marks, are *indelible, lasting to old age*; and Woolrich has often seen their backs *one undistinguished mass of lumps, holes, and furrows*.

As farther proofs of the *severity* of these punishments by the whip or cowskin, the following facts may be adduced. Duncan and Falconbridge have known them so whipped that they could not lie down. Fitzmaurice has often known pregnant women so severely whipped as to *have miscarried in consequence of it*. Davison was once sent for to a woman slave, who *miscarried* from severe flogging, *when both she and the child died*. He knew also a new negro girl *die of a mortification of*

* The military whip, says General Tottenham, cuts the skin, whereas that for the negroes cuts out the flesh.

her

her wounds two days after the whipping had taken place. A case similar to the last is also mentioned by Mr. Rees. Finding one day in his walks a woman lying down and groaning, he understood from her that she had been so severely whipped for running away, that she could hardly move from the place where she was. Her left side, where she had been most whipped, appeared in a *mortifying state, and almost covered with worms*. He relieved her, as she was hungry, and in a day or two afterwards going to visit her again, found she was dead and buried. Dr. Jackson recollects a negro dying under the lash, or soon afterwards; and Captain Ross avers, that they often die in a few days after their severe punishments, for having but little food, and little care being taken to keep the sores clean after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Having now collected what is said on the punishments by the whip and cow/skin, it will be proper to mention those other modes with which the evidence presents us. These, however, are not easily subject to a division from the great variety of their kinds.

Captain Cook, speaking of the towns, says, he has been shocked to see a girl of sixteen or seventeen, a domestic slave, running in the streets on her ordinary business with an iron collar, having two hooks projecting several inches both before and behind.

Captain Ross, speaking of the country, has known slaves severely punished, then put into the stocks, a cattle chain of sixty or seventy pounds weight put on them, and a large collar about their necks, and a weight of fifty-six pounds fastened to the chain when they were drove a-field.

Mr. Cook states that, when run-aways are brought in, they are in general severely flogged, and sometimes have an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with three projections, it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep: even with two they must lie uneasy. He has seen

collars with four projections: And though he never knew any other injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks; he has known a negro *lose his leg from wearing the iron boot.*

Mr. Dalrymple, in June, 1789, saw a negress brought to St. George's, Grenada, to have her fingers cut off. She had committed a fault, and ran away to avoid punishment; but being taken, her master *suspended her by the hands, flogged and cut her cruelly on the back, belly, breasts, and thighs, and then left her suspended till her fingers mortified.* In this state Mr. D. saw her at Dr. Gilpin's house.

Captain Ross has seen a negro woman, in Jamaica, flogged *with ebony bushes* so that the *skin of her back was taken off down to her heels.* She was then turned round and flogged *from her breast down to her waist,* and in consequence he saw her afterwards *walking upon all fours,* and unable to get up.

Jeffreys, Captain Ross, M. Terry, and Coor, mention the *cutting off of ears,* as another species of punishment. The last gentleman gives the following instance in Jamaica. One of the house-girls *having broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea,* the Doctor (with whom Mr. Coor boarded) *nailed her ear to a post.* Mr. Coor remonstrated with him in vain. They went to bed, and left her there. In the morning she was gone, *having torn the head of the nail through her ear.* She was soon brought back, and when Mr. Coor came to breakfast, he found she had been very severely whipped by the Doctor, who, in his fury, *clipped both her ears off close to her head,* with a pair of large scissors, and she was sent to pick seeds out of cotton, among three or four more, emaciated by his cruelties until they were fit for nothing else.

Mr. M. Cook, while in Jamaica, knew a run-away slave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had stolen, and which, Mr. Cook thinks, *he had stolen from hunger, as he was nothing but skin and bone.* His master immediately made two negroes hold

hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch, knocked out two of his upper, and two of his under teeth.

Captain Giles, Doctor Jackson, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. M. Terry, have teen negroes whose legs had been cut off, by their masters' orders, for running away, and Mr. Dalrymple gives the following account : A French planter, says he, in the English island of Grenada, sent for a surgeon to cut off the leg of a negro who had run away. On the surgeon's refusing to do it, the planter took an iron bar, and broke the leg in pieces, and then the surgeon cut it off. This planter did many such acts of cruelty, and all with impunity.

Mr. Hercules Ross, hearing one day, in Jamaica, from an inclosure, the cries of some poor wretch under torture, he looked through, and saw a young female suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to and fro. Her toes could barely touch the ground, and her body was exceedingly agitated. The sight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the master was just by seemingly motionless; but, on looking more attentively, he saw in his hand a stick of fire, which he held so as occasionally to touch her in a part not decent to name, as she swung. He continued this torture with unmoved countenance, until Mr. H. Ross, calling on him to desist, and throwing stones at him over the fence, stopped it.

Mr. Fitzmaurice once found Rushie, a Jamaica planter in the act of hanging a negro. Mr. F. begged leave to intercede, as he was doing an action that in a few minutes he would repent of. Rushie, upon this, being a passionate man, ordered him off his estate. Mr. F. accordingly went, but returned early the next morning, before Rushie was up, and going into the curing-house, beheld the same negro lying dead upon a board. It was notorious that Rushie had killed many of his negroes, and destroyed them so fast, that he was obliged to sell his estate.

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hastily *struck him on the head, with a small hanger, and gave him two stabs about the waist.* The slave said, "Overseer you have killed me." He pushed him out of the piazza. The slave went home, and died that night. He was buried, and no more said about it.

A manager of an estate, says Mr. Woolrich, in Tortola, whose owner did not reside on the island, sitting at dinner, in a sudden resentment at his cook, went directly to his sword, and *ran the negro woman through the body; she died upon the floor immediately,* and the negroes were called in to take her away and bury her.

Mr. Woolrich says, a negro ran away from a planter in Tortola. The overseer having orders *to take him dead or alive,* a while after found him in one of his huts, fast asleep, in the day time, *and shot him through the body.* The negro jumping up, said, "What, you kill me asleep;" and dropped dead immediately. The overseer *took off his head,* and carried it to the owner.

In the same island, a planter, offended with his waiting man, a mulatto, stepped suddenly to *his gun,* on which the man ran off, but his master *shot him through the head with a single ball.*

It will appear extraordinary to the reader, that many women, living in the colonies, should not only *order,* and often *superintend,* but sometimes actually *inflict with their own hands* some severe punishments upon their slaves, and that these should not always be women of a low order, but *frequently of respectability and rank.*

Capt. Cook relates, that two young ladies of fortune, in Barbadoes, sisters, one of whom was dispeased at the pregnancy of a female slave belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. *With their own garters they tied the young woman neck and heels,* and then *beat her* almost to death with the heels of their shoes. One of her eyes continued a long while afterwards in danger of being lost. They after this continued to use her ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook came in during the beating, and was an eye

eye witness to it himself.

Captain Cook states farther, that he saw a woman, named Rachel Lauder, beat a female slave most unmercifully. Having *bruised her head almost to a jelly*, with the heel of her shoe, she threw her with great force on the seat of the child's necessary, and *then tried to stamp her head through the hole*, and would have murdered her, if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was, the not bringing money enough from on board a ship, where she was sent by her mistress, *for the purpose of prostitution.*

Lieutenant Davison states, in his evidence, that the clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used to drop *hot sealing wax* on her negroes, after flogging them. He was sent for as surgeon to one of them, whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing wax. He was also once called in to a woman slave, who had been *tied up all night* by her hands, and had been *abused with cayenne pepper*, by the same mistress, in a way too horrid and indecent to mention. He lived next door to a washer woman at Port Royal, who was almost continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonstrated against her cruelty, when he has seen the negro women *chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging.*

Mr. Forster says he has known a creole woman, in Antigua, drop *hot sealing wax* on a girl's back, after a flogging. He and many others saw a young woman of fortune and character flogging a negro man very severely *with her own hands.* Many similar instances he could relate if necessary. *They are almost innumerable among the domestic slaves.*

If it should be asked for what offences the different punishments now cited have taken place, the following answer may be given.

The slaves appear to have been punished, as far as can be ascertained from the evidence, for not coming into the field *in time*, for not picking a *sufficient quantity*

nity of grafts, not appearing willing to work, when in fact sick and not able, for staying too long on an errand, for not coming immediately when called, for not bringing home (the women) the full weekly sum enjoined by their owners, for running away, and for theft, to which they were often driven by hunger, for breaking a plate, or spilling a cup of tea, or to extort confession. Others again in the moments of sudden resentment, and one on a diabolical pretext, which the master held out to the world to conceal his own villainy, and which he knew to be false.

Having stated the evidence on the subject of offences and punishments, we come to a custom which appears too general to be passed over in silence.

It is no uncommon thing for persons to neglect and turn off their slaves when past labour, to plunder, beg, or starve. Accordingly we find some of the superannuated slaves on the different estates, who want every thing, others begging, others digging in the dunghill for food, and others lying, miserable objects, about the wharfs and beaches, and in the roads and streets. General Tottenham has often met them, and, once in particular, an old woman, past labour, who told him that her master had set her adrift to shift for herself. He saw her about three days afterwards, lying dead in the same place.

As a proof how little the life of an old slave is regarded in the West-Indies, we may make the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Coor. Once when he was dining with an overseer, an old woman who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overseer, with the clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot-house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill, about one hundred yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from that house, he asked his men, who and what it was. They said they thought it was old Quasheba. About five o'clock

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the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, " Well, Mr. Coor, Old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks-room; the overseer threw a rope over the beam; I was Jack Ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet were off the ground. The overseer locked the door, and took the key with him, till my return just now, with a slave for the stocks, when I found her dead." Mr. Coor said, " You have killed her, I heard her cry all the afternoon." He answered, "*D—n her for an old b—h, she was good for nothing; what signifies killing such an old woman as her.*" Mr. Coor said, " Bakewell, you shock me," and left him. The next morning his men told him, they had helped to bury her.

But the aged are not the only persons whose fate is to be commiserated, when they become of no value; for people in youth, if disabled, are abandoned to equal misery. General Tottenham, about three weeks before the hurricane, saw a youth, about nineteen, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, *entirely naked, and with an iron collar about his neck, with five long projecting spikes. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs.* The boy came to the General and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him *what he had done to suffer such a punishment, and who inflicted it.* He said it was his master, who lived about two miles from town, and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

Some will ask whether, under these various acts of cruelty, they are wholly without redress? To this the following answer may be given—That, with respect to the ordinary punishments, by the whip and cowkin
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(where they do not terminate in death) the power of the master or overseer is under little or no controul.

First, Because, as we have already seen, they can order or inflict punishment for any, even imaginary, offences.

Secondly, Because the law of thirty-nine lashes (the greatest number allowed to be given to a slave, at any one time) is a mere farce, and never attended to by masters or owners, if they should think it proper to inflict more, for Woolrich says, that the chief whipper lays on their back *forty, fifty, sixty, or more lashes, at the pleasure of the owner or overseer.* Captain Rofs has known negroes receive *two hundred lashes*, where the law would give only *thirty-nine.* Mr. Cook has known a field slave receive *two hundred lashes, by order of the overseer*, and a domestic *fifty, by order of his mistress.*

Thirdly, Because, if there should be some, who bear the law in their minds, at the time of punishing, *they* evade it by various means. Whipping, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, was understood to be limited to *thirty-nine lashes*; but it was often evaded, *by putting the negro into the stocks, and giving him thirty-nine for the same offence, next day.* Captain Rofs has seen John Shackle, Esq. a magistrate in Jamaica, *flogging a negro three times in one day, namely, at breakfast, dinner, and at six in the evening: but the negro was in the stocks between the floggings.* Captain Cook returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regt. they heard most dreadful cries, and, on approaching the square at Bridge-town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip, on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about nineteen, chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his counter from their indignation

indignation, and thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her *thirty-nine lashes at one time*, and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then *threatened them* for breaking his door, and *interfering between him and his slave*, whom he would *flog to death for all any one*, and he would give her the fourth *thirty-nine lashes* before morning, which must have killed her, as she seemed then to be dying.

As to such of the extraordinary punishments before mentioned as did not terminate in death, such as picketing, dropping hot sealing wax on the flesh, cutting off ears and the like, it appears that slaves had no redress whatever, for that these actions also on the part of the masters were not deemed within the reach of the law. In the instance cited of the Doctor clipping off the ears of a female slave, *no more notice was taken of it*, says Coor, *than if a dog's ears had been cut off*, though it *must have been known to the magistrates*. In the dreadful instance also cited of a planter's breaking his slave's leg by an iron bar, to induce the surgeon to cut it off, as a punishment, Mr. Dalrymple observes, that it was not the publick opinion *that any punishment was due to him on that account*, for though it was generally known, he was *equally well received in society afterwards as before*; and in the case also mentioned of the owner torturing his female slave by the application of a lighted torch to her body, he was *never brought to any trial for it*.

At Grenada, in the town of St. George, a mason, named Chambers, killed a negro in the middle of the day, *but no notice was taken of it*.

Two slaves, says Captain Cook, were murdered and thrown into the road in Barbadoes: *yet no legal inquiry ever took place that he heard of*.

Such appears to have been, in the experience of the different evidences cited, the forlorn and wretched situation of the slaves. They often complain, says Dr. Jackson, that they are an oppressed people; that *they*

suffer in this world, but expect happiness in the next; whilst they denounce the vengeance of God on the white men their oppressors: if you speak to them of future punishments they say, "Why should a poor negro be punished; he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves."

The abstract, from whence most of the preceding facts are taken, proceeds to shew that the natives of Africa thus enslaved, are equal to the Europeans in capacity, feeling, affection, and moral character; and that if individuals be found among them who are inferior in moral conduct, it is frequently owing to their connection with white men, or to the trade in slaves. That they have many valuable productions of their own country in which they could offer a trade to the Europeans in the place of the Slave Trade. That they have a sufficient spirit of commerce, and portion of industry among them to embark in a new trade in the produce of their own country, but that the Slave Trade is an insuperable impediment thereto. That the Slave Trade is a grave for our seamen who are employed in that trade: that in five years time, it took off 643 of the ships' crews by death. That the sailors in this trade are generally treated with cruelty, and that this is the genuine offspring of the inhuman traffic. That the asserting the slaves to be more happy in the islands than they were in their own country, is palpably false, and that to form any comparison of their former and present situation in this way is an insult on common sense. That a mild treatment of the present slaves would increase population, and entirely supercede the necessity of importing any more. These things are here but just mentioned to prevent the swelling of the pamphlet beyond its intended size; but in the abstract, they are clearly stated and abundantly confirmed by the most cogent attestations. But if these things be so, what manner of plea can possibly be found for the continuance of this unparalleled wickedness?

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Are there any so hardy as to plead for the lawfulness of it? Should such be found, the editor begs leave to insert here the sentiments of that great ornament of his profession, Judge Blackstone. Part of his words are as follows :

“ The three origins of the right of slavery, assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations. First, slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captives, if he spares that, has a right to deal with them as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally, that by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation. Therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

“ It is said secondly, slavery may begin, by one man's selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave. In this case therefore the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded ?”

“ We are told, thirdly, that men may be *born slaves*, by being the children of slaves. But this being built upon the two former rights must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by

the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring."

It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to *justice* as to *mercy*. That slave-holding is utterly inconsistent with *mercy*, is almost too plain to need a proof. Indeed it is said, "That these negroes being prisoners of war, our captains and factors buy them, merely to save them from being put to death. And is not this mercy?" Did Sir John Hawkins, and many others, seize upon men, women, and children, who were at peace in their fields or houses, merely to save them from death? Was it to save them from death that they knocked out the brains of those they could not bring away? Who occasioned and fomented those wars, wherein these poor creatures were taken prisoners? Who excited them by money, by drink, by every possible means, to fall upon one another? Have not our captains and factors? They know in their own conscience they have, if they have any conscience left. But can they say before God, that they ever took a single voyage, or bought a single negroe from this motive? They cannot, they well know; to *get money*, not to *save lives*, was the whole and sole spring of their motions.

But some may say, "Although the practice has not the sanction of mercy or of justice, yet it is necessary, and necessity has no law." In answer to this, it is utterly denied that villainy is ever necessary. It is impossible that it should ever be necessary for any reasonable creature to violate all the laws of justice, mercy and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. Besides, it has been proved by undeniable evidence, that the islands might be cultivated without importing another slave; but, were it otherwise, they had better remain uncultivated, or sink in the depth of the sea, than that they should be cultivated at so high a price as the violation of justice, mercy and truth.

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From the preceding facts it appears that the guilt of murdering many thousands of our fellow creatures annually, has been accumulating for upwards of two hundred years. And will not God visit us for these things; will he not be avenged on such a nation as this? If the blood of Abel cried from the earth for vengeance on Cain; what must that of myriads of the slaughtered Africans call for on us? If dogs must lick Ahab's blood on the awful spot where Naboth's had been wantonly spilt, what horror may not the abettors of slavery expect to feel? The measure they mete, shall surely be measured to them again. Here, or hereafter, these unfeeling mortals must lament their horrid barbarity. If it be in this life, there may be some hope of their obtaining mercy; but if this sin be not repented of here, it must lead to that pit *in* which there is no *rest*, and *from* which there is no *return*. Where the festive bowl will be exchanged for a burning lake, and wanton pleasure be urned into excruciating pain. As the cries of the tortured slaves have excited no pity in their breasts, so there shall be none to pity them; no, not a drop of water will be given to cool their scorched tongues. The tortures of the slaves, however inhuman, are momentary; but the punishment of their oppressive tyrants will be lasting as eternity: the former feel the severity of the whip; the latter will feel the wrath of God. What painful reflections, what violent tempers and keen despair, will be found in their never-dying worm! Where is their ill-gotten gold? Perhaps left to a prodigal heir, whose final ruin may be occasioned thereby, and bring him to the same place of torment. Oh may these sinners against their own souls break off their sins by repentance, and their iniquities by shewing mercy to those poor sufferers! Who can tell, but that the Lord, who is long suffering and abundant in goodness, may yet forgive: though their enormous offences be of a scarlet hue, or of a crimson dye. However, let us have no fellowship with these works of darkness, but rather reprove them.

Let us no way countenance the cruelties exercised, nor what is the cause of them, viz. the trade itself. According to our power let us contribute to its destruction, by refusing to taste the produce of the islands while the trade is continued. Above all, let us be instant in prayer to God who hath all power in heaven and in earth, that he may plead the cause of the oppressed and effect their deliverance, in such a way, and by such means, as seemeth good in his sight; and that he may hasten the day when cruelty shall be chased from the habitations and from the hearts of men. The day when Japhet shall be enlarged, and Jehovah shall dwell in the tents of Shem: when there shall be one fold under one shepherd, and the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters do the face of the deep. Then shall violence no more be heard in our land, wasting nor destruction within our borders: salvation shall be a surer protection than the strongest walls, and the gates of justice be turned into places of praise. For the encouragement of our hope, it is said, "I the Lord will hasten it in his time."

OBSERVATIONS

On the DISUSE of *SUGAR, RUM, &c.*

IN vain have such scenes been unfolded. The wealth derived from the horrid traffic, has created an influence that secures its continuance; unless the people shall refuse to receive the produce of robbery and murder.

The Legislature having refused to interpose, the people are now necessarily called on, either to reprobate or approve the measure; for West-India Slavery must depend upon their support for its existence, and it is in the power of every individual to increase, or to diminish its extent. The laws of our country may indeed prohibit us the sugar-cane, unless

unless we will receive it through the medium of slavery. They may hold it to our lips, steeped in the blood of our fellow-creatures; but they cannot compel us to accept the loathsome potion. With us it rests, either to receive it and be partners in the crime, or to keep ourselves from guilt, by spurning from us the temptation. For let us not think, that the crime rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity we participate in the crime. The slave-dealer, the slave-holder, and the slave-driver, are eventually the agents of the consumer.

Nor are we by any means to consider our individual share in these evils in a trivial point of view. The consumption of sugar, in tea, wines, pastry and punch by many families in this country is so considerable, that a few such families by abstaining, will have an important effect on the Slave Trade. A family that uses 5lb. of sugar per week, with the proportion of rum, will by abstaining from the consumption 21 months, prevent the slavery or murder of one fellow-creature; eight such families in 19½ years, prevent the slavery or murder of 100, and when the sugar trade shall have returned to its former channel by the French colonies supplying the other European markets, 38,000 such families will have it in their power totally to prevent the Slave Trade to supply our islands. Nay, so necessarily connected are our consumption of the commodity, and the misery resulting from it, that in every pound of sugar used, (the produce of slaves imported from Africa) we may be considered as consuming two ounces of human flesh, besides destroying an alarming number of seamen by the Slave Trade, and spreading inconceivable anguish, terror, and dismay, through an immense continent, by the burning of their villages, tearing parents from their families, and children from their parents; breaking every bond of society, and destroying every source of human happiness. A French writer observes, " That he cannot look on a piece of
" sugar

"sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood:" and Dr. Franklin adds, that had he taken in all the consequences, "he might have seen the sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly died in grain."

The day hardly dawns when the whip resounds through those regions of horror; nor ceases, till darkness closes the scene, which day after day is renewed. The miserable victims, destitute of every source of comfort to body or to mind, and sinking under the three endemic diseases of our islands, hunger, torture, and extreme labour; and urged to exertions they are unable to sustain, at length expire beneath the lash, which in vain endeavours to rouse them to a renewal of their labour.

If such be the dreadful situation of the West-India slaves, may it not be asked, on what principle we can receive that produce which occasions it, for as neither the slave-dealer, nor the planter, can have any moral right to the person of him they stile their slave, to his labour, or to the produce of it; so they can convey no right in that produce to us: and whatever number of hands it may pass through, if the criminal circumstances appertaining to it be known at the time of the transfer, they can only have a criminal possession; and the money paid, either for the slave or for the produce of his labour, is paid to obtain that criminal possession; and can confer no moral right whatever. If the death of the person called a slave, be occasioned by the criminal possession, the criminal possessor is guilty of murder; and we who have knowingly done any act which might occasion his being in that situation, are accessaries to the murder.

If we imagine that our share in the transaction is so small that it cannot perceptibly increase the injury; let us recollect that, though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude. Were an hundred assassins to plunge their daggers into their victim, though each might plead, that without his assistance the crime would have been completed,

completed, yet every one of them would be guilty of the entire crime.

But waving these considerations, and even supposing for a moment, that the evil has an existence from causes totally independent of us: yet surely it will not be said, that we are to bind up no wounds but those we have made, nor relieve any distress but what we have occasioned; if dreadful misery exists, and we have it in our power jointly with others, to remedy it; it is undoubtedly our duty to contribute our share, in hopes that others will theirs.

For instance; let us suppose the Algerines to establish sugar-plantations, and resort to our nation for slaves: suppose our wives, our husbands, our children, our parents, our brethren, swept away, and the fruit of their labour, produced with agonizing hearts and trembling limbs, landed at the port of London. What would be our conduct? Should we say, sugar is a necessary of life: I cannot do without it; and paying for the sugar, I have a right to consume it, however it may have been obtained? No: were any one to treat a fellow-creature of this country as we do the unhappy Africans in the West-Indies; struck with horror, we should be zealous to deliver the oppressed, and punish the oppressor. Are then the offices of humanity and functions of justice to be circumscribed by geographical boundaries? Can reason, can conscience justify this contrast in our conduct, between our readiness in the one case, and our backwardness in the other? Mr. Addison justly observes, that "humanity, to become estimable, must be combined with justice." But we seem to act as if we thought that the relief of our fellow-creatures, protection from injuries, communication of benefits, were works of supererogation, to be granted or withheld, as custom or inclination may suggest.

After the important considerations adduced, it might be reckoned a degradation of the subject to mention the national dignity; or even that might induce us to counteract a powerful body of men, who are trampling under

under foot the dictates of humanity, and the interest of the nation : men, who have in 50 years received for sugar alone, above 70 millions more than it would have cost at any other market. And from Mr. Botham's evidence it appears, that in Batavia, where labour is as high as in England, sugar, equal to the best West-India, is sold at 1 d. per pound. These are the men, who are at this moment summoning meetings to compel the minister to aid the operation of their whips by the terrors of our bayonets ; and to pervert the public treasure for the purpose of supporting a few individuals in violating every principle of law and justice, and of defending them in the exercise of the most dreadful tyranny over half a million of persons.

It appears, that the Legislature is either unwilling, or unable to grant redress ; and therefore it is more peculiarly incumbent on us, *To abstain from the use of sugar and rum, until our West-India planters themselves have prohibited the importation of additional slaves, and commenced as speedy and effectual a subversion of slavery in their islands, as the circumstances and situation of the slaves will admit : or till we can obtain the produce of the sugar cane in some other mode, unconnected with slavery and unpolluted with blood.*

For if it be iniquitous to force the Africans from their native land ; so must it be to retain them and their posterity in perpetual bondage. And shall we suffer half a million of fellow subjects, and their posterity, to be held in slavery for ever ? I say, fellow subjects, for undoubtedly, every person born in the dominions of Great Britain is a subject, bound to obey, and entitled to the protection of the common law of England ; and in requesting liberty for the slaves born in our islands, we request no more than they are entitled to by the common law of the land. The most eligible mode of putting them in possession of their legal and natural right, may be a question of difficulty ; but the plan to be adopted, ought to be certain and speedy in its operation ; should it militate against the supposed, or even
real

real interest, of their oppressors ; and let it be remembered, that it is in the power of a small proportion of the people of England to effect it, by refusing to receive the produce. For the planters themselves would adopt the plan, were that the only condition on which we would consume the sugar of their islands : nor would the Legislature be then harrassed with preposterous claims for compensation ; which, however unfounded in justice or reason, will be supported by influence, and enforced with clamour.

The case now fully lies before us ; and we have to make our choice, either to join ourselves with these manufacturers of human woe, or to renounce the horrid association. If we adopt the former, let us avow our conduct in its real deformity. Let us no longer affect to deplore the calamities attendant on the Slave Trade, of which we are the primary cause : nor let us pretend to execrate the conduct of the slave-dealer, the slaveholder, or the slave-driver ; but apologize for them as our partners in iniquity ; and be assured, that if we now take *our* share in the transaction, we should, were we placed in a similar situation with them, with as little compunction take *theirs* ; unless we can suppose the order of nature would be so far inverted, as that we should become virtuous, in proportion as the temptation to vice increased. Nor should we then, any more than now, be destitute of subterfuges to destroy the feelings of our minds, and the convictions of our consciences.

If ignorance and inattention may be pleaded as our excuse hitherto, yet that can be the case no longer. The subject has been four years before the public. Its dreadful wickedness has been fully proved. Every falsehood, every deception with which it has been disguised, has been completely done away ; and it stands before us in all its native horrors. No longer can it be pretended that Africa is a barbarous, uncultivated land, inhabited by a race of savages, inferiour to the rest of the human species. Mr. How, who was employed by government

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to go up the country, depofes, that inland it is every where well cultivated, abounding with rice, millet, potatoes, cotton and indigo plantations; and that the inhabitants are quick in learning languages, and remarkably induftrious, hofpitable and obliging. It appears that they poffefs noble and heroic minds, difdaining flavery, and frequently feeking refuge from it in the arms of death. Nor fhall we again be told, of the fuperior happinefs they enjoy under the benevolent care of the planters; Mr. Coor having depofed, that “ fetting “ flaves to work in the morning, is attended with loud “ peals of whipping;”—and General Tottenham, that “ there is no comparifon between regimental flogging, “ which only cuts the fkin, and the plantation, which “ cuts out the flefh;”—Capt. Smith, “ that at every “ froke of the whip a piece of flefh is cut out,”—And Mr. Rofs, “ that he confiders a comparifon between “ Weft-India flaves, and the Britifh peasantry, as an “ infult to common fenfe.”

We are now called on to redrefs evils, in comparifon with which, all that exift in this nation fink beneath our notice; and the only facrifice we are required to make in order to effect it, is the abandoning a luxury, which habit alone can have rendered of importance. If we refufe to liften to the admonitions of confcience on this occafion, may it not be juftly inferred, that thofe numerous difplays of humanity, of which this kingdom boafts, have not their foundation in any virtuous principle: but that to cuftom and oftentation they owe their origin? If our execration of the flave trade be any more than mere declamation againft crimes we are not in a fituation to commit, we fhall abhor the idea of contributing, in the leaft degree, to fuch fcenes of mifery.

Another writes thus :

So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun : and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter. Ecclesiastes, chap. iv. ver. 1.

THE apostle James sums up religion in these short and comprehensive words, " Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep unspotted from the world."

If many thousands are made fatherless and widows by the grievous oppression of our fellow creatures in the sugar colonies, and by the trade to Africa for negroes, to supply the place of those who are worn out, or murdered by excessive labour and cruel treatment, is not the produce of such labour polluted with blood? From a serious consideration of this evil, and a sympathy with those who suffer by it, several persons, for many years, have believed it their duty to decline the use of such articles as were produced by this oppressive labour; and since it hath been more fully laid open, and particularly since the legislature of this country has declined to comply with the wishes of the people of almost every religious denomination, numbers have too far commiserated the situation of their afflicted brethren, as to deny themselves the use of sugar and rum; believing that the disuse of these articles only, by a large number, would effectually abolish the slave trade, ease the burdens of those already in slavery, and eventually procure their freedom. If this desirable end can be obtained by so small a sacrifice, who that lays any claim to religion or humanity can withhold it? Sugar and rum are the leading articles of West-Indian labour and commerce, but least in real usefulness. Thus viewed, may it not lessen the difficulty of some well-wishers to the cause, who, considering the many articles connected with this trade, are discouraged, and because they are not satisfied it is their duty to decline all, think it best to do nothing? but it is not enough that

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So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun : and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter. Ecclesiastes, chap. iv. ver. 1.

THE apostle James sums up religion in these short and comprehensive words, " Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep unspotted from the world."

If many thousands are made fatherless and widows by the grievous oppression of our fellow creatures in the sugar colonies, and by the trade to Africa for negroes, to supply the place of those who are worn out, or murdered by excessive labour and cruel treatment, is not the produce of such labour polluted with blood? From a serious consideration of this evil, and a sympathy with those who suffer by it, several persons, for many years, have believed it their duty to decline the use of such articles as were produced by this oppressive labour; and since it hath been more fully laid open, and particularly since the legislature of this country has declined to comply with the wishes of the people of almost every religious denomination, numbers have to far commiserated the situation of their afflicted brethren, as to deny themselves the use of sugar and rum; believing that the disuse of these articles only, by a large number, would effectually abolish the slave trade, ease the burdens of those already in slavery, and eventually procure their freedom. If this desirable end can be obtained by so small a sacrifice, who that lays any claim to religion or humanity can withhold it? Sugar and rum are the leading articles of West-Indian labour and commerce, but least in real usefulness. Thus viewed, may it not lessen the difficulty of some well-wishers to the cause, who, considering the many articles connected with this trade, are discouraged, and because they are not satisfied it is their duty to decline all, think it best to do nothing? but it is not enough that

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our hearts be well-disposed to the cause, we should also lend a hand of help with our brethren to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

It is now generally admitted, that the slave trade is a violation of all the rights of men, and attended with consequences barbarous beyond description.

That the labour of slaves in the colonies is so oppressive, and their treatment so bad as to occasion the death of many thousands annually.

That the sugar and rum raised in the West Indian islands are prepared by this oppressed people, and publickly sold in this country as such. These being established facts, does it not behove all professors of Christianity to consider how they encourage the oppressors, by purchasing their commodities, thus defiled with blood? Our conduct in time past, when comparative ignorance prevailed, affords no justification to our present practice. It is said, that the "times of ignorance God winked at;" but when there is a more clear discovery of his will and our duty, "He commandeth all men, every where, to repent." Are any looking for some extraordinary call to a thing so clearly established; or is repeated revelation necessary to convince us that we ought to be found in every Christian duty? If such there be, let them remember, that what is recommended, is essentially the same principle of justice that has been declared from the beginning.

"Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child: if thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry."

If it be a divine command not to afflict or oppress, is it not as clear that we are not to be the encouragers of oppressors?

If it be a divine command, "Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal," is it not as clear we should not strengthen the hands of those that commit such violence, lest that charge should be brought up in judgment against us? "When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him."

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The prophet Isaiah describeth a state of acceptance with the Almighty after this manner : “ He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of *oppression*, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from *hearing of blood*, that shutteth his eyes from seeing evil, he shall dwell on high, &c.” On considering this remarkable passage it appears, that to despise the gain of oppression is to carry our testimony further than to decline the profits of it; if we purchase and use that which is produced by oppression, we contribute to the gain of the oppressor, and while we do so, can it be said that we do indeed despise his unrighteous gain, or that we stop our ears from hearing of blood, and shut our eyes from seeing evil, while we knowingly receive the price of blood, and contribute in the most effectual way towards upholding the oppressor?

He that receives or buys goods knowing them to be stolen, is deemed an encourager of theft, and as such, is punishable by the law; yet goods stolen privately is simply a fraud in property, unattended with the aggravating circumstances of oppression and bloodshed.

If it should be objected, that the productions of our colonies are neither stolen goods, nor sold as such; true, there is a difference between these and what is commonly understood by stolen goods; but when all the circumstances are duly considered, the difference will appear in favour of the latter, in which case the *commodity only* is stolen; but in the other the *people* who raise and manufacture the commodity. As their labour is exacted without wages, the produce of such labour is unjustly obtained under the continued oppression and loss of the lives and liberties of the labourers. The using this produce to gratify our palates has been often retorted on the advocates of the poor negroes, and may not the oppressors and men-stealers, think us inconsistent in exclaiming against them, while we continue to partake with them, yea furnish them with the only means of continuing those oppressions, which we lament and execrate?

Let us contrast our conduct with that of David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16, 17, and will not the difference appear to be much against us? For,—

I. David's men were free and went voluntarily without his command or knowledge;—but the Negroes are made slaves by violence and bloodshed, and afterwards compelled by oppressive hands.

II. David's men returned unhurt, yet he refused to drink because they had hazarded their lives;—but amongst the Negroes a horrid and continual destruction of their lives is the price of that which is offered to us.

III. David's men brought an important *necessary* of life;—the Negroes are destroyed to procure a luxury.

IV. David, under all this disparity of circumstances, refused to drink;—we under all the aggravating circumstances against us, have received these articles. But shall not the time past suffice? Shall we not now come to the help of the oppressed, and labour to rescue thousands from the depths of wretchedness and the jaws of an untimely and cruel death? If we refuse to give up so little a matter for their relief, oh! where is our love, where our compassion, where our justice? For, as Mr. Fox said on this subject in the House of Commons, "Compassion has no claim, while justice remains unsatisfied."

Let us now cast in our mite, and not be discouraged by the littleness of what is in our power to do, but rather be concerned to be found faithful in that little, leaving the event to Him who reigneth in the heavens, and whose kingdom is over all.

AN
ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF THE
NAMES *of the* WITNESSES,
MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING PAGES,
EXAMINED BY THE
SELECT COMMITTEE *of the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS,
ON THE PART OF THE
PETITIONERS *of* GREAT-BRITAIN
FOR THE
ABOLITION *of the* SLAVE-TRADE.

BOWMAN (Mr. JOHN) was in the African employ, from 1765 to 1776.

CLAXTON (Mr. ECROIDE) sailed in the *Garland*, for Africa, in 1788, as surgeon's mate, and there, on the *Bonny Coast*, commenced surgeon to the *Young Hero* slave-vessel.

COOK (Captain) of the 80th regiment, was in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, &c. in 1780 and 1781.

COOK (Mr. MARK) arrived in Jamaica in 1774, and left it 1790; was three years in the planting business; the rest of the time as clerk and schoolmaster there.

COOR (HENRY, Gent.) was in Jamaica fifteen years, ending in 1774, as a mill-wright.

DALRYMPLE (HENRY HEW, Esq.) was three times in the West-Indies; in 1773 at Grenada six months; in 1779 and 1780 at Antigua, Barbadoes, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Christopher's; and, in 1788 and 1789, at Grenada, Cariacou, St. Vincent's, and Tobago.

DAVIES (The Rev. Mr.) resided at Barbadoes fourteen years.

DAVISON,

DAVISON (BAKER) Lieutenant of the late 70th regiment, was in Jamaica from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the Spanish Main. He also practised surgery in Jamaica.

DOUGLAS (Mr. JOHN) was one voyage to the Coast of Africa for slaves in 1771.

DUNCAN (Mr. WILLIAM) was in Antigua from January 1785 to July 1789.

ELLISON (Mr. HENRY) was in the slave-trade from 1759 to 1770.

FALCONBRIDGE (Mr. ALEXANDER, surgeon) was four voyages to Africa for slaves, from 1780 or 1781 to 1787.

FITZMAURICE (Mr. WILLIAM) was in Jamaica from June 1771 to March 1786, as overseer the last ten years.

FOSTER (Mr. ROBERT) was in every British island, except Jamaica, in all about six years, ending in 1778.

GILES (Captain) of the 19th regiment of foot, was in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 14 or 15 months in England.

HALL (Captain) of the Royal Navy, was at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782.

HALL (Captain JOHN ASHLEY) was in the African trade from 1772 to 1776 inclusive.

HARRISON (M. D.) was upwards of ten years in Jamaica, in the medical line.

HILLS (Captain JOHN) of the Royal Navy, was at Goree and up the Gambia, as commander of his Majesty's sloop Zephyr, at the end of 1781 and beginning of 1782, in all about six months.

HOW (ANTHONY PANTALEO, Esq.) was in Africa in 1785 and 1786.

JACKSON (ROBERT, M. D.) went to Jamaica in 1774, and resided there four years, where he practised medicine.

JEFFREYS (Mr. NINIAN) was in several of the islands employed in taking off sugars from the different estates.

KIERNAN (JAMES, Esq.) was in Africa four years to learn the nature of the trade, and to carry it on. He resided on the river Senegal.

NEWTON (the Rev. JOHN) Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth, made five voyages to Africa; in the last in 1754 he was master of a slave ship. He lived on shore about a year and a half.

NICHOLLS (the Rev. ROBERT BOUCHER) Dean of Middleham, Yorkshire, was born in Barbadoes, and resided there some years in his youth, and two years after he was of age, from 1768 to 1770, when in holy orders. In his last residence, he lived on a very large plantation, and observed the management of that and the surrounding estates.

PARKER (Mr. ISAAC) sailed in 1764 to the R. Gambia, and in 1765 to Old Calabar. He lived five months on shore, at New Calabar.

REES (the Rev. THOMAS GWYNN) arrived at Barbadoes in the end of 1782, as Chaplain of his Majesty's ship Princess Amelia.

ROSS (HERCULES, Esq.) resided from 1761 to 1782 chiefly in Jamaica, and occasionally in Hispaniola.

ROSS (Captain ROBERT) was from 1762 to 1786 in Jamaica.

SCOTT (Captain ALEXANDER) of the Royal Navy, was from Senegal to C. Coast in 1769.

SMITH (Captain JOHN SAMUEL) of the Royal Navy, was in the West-Indies in 1772, 1777, and 1778, for above a year altogether.

TERRY (Mr. JOHN) was in Grenada from 1776 to 1790, the first seven or eight years as an overseer, then a manager.

TERRY (Mr. MATTHEW) was four years in Dominique, one at Tobago, and seven in Grenada, ending in 1781.

TOTTENHAM (Major-General) was about twenty months in Barbadoes, and some time at St. Lucia, St. Kitts, and St. Eustatius.

TOWNE (Mr. JAMES) made two voyages in 1760 and 1768 to the Isles de Los, and Grand Cape Mount.

TROTTER, (THOMAS, M. D.) surgeon in the Royal navy, was a voyage in the African slave-trade, from Liverpool, in 1783, as surgeon of the Brookes, Captain Noble. He was ten months on the coast.

WADSTROM (CHARLES BERNIS, Esq.) was in Africa near three months, in 1787 and 1788, with Doctor Spaarman, engaged by the King of Sweden to make discoveries.

WILSON (Captain THOMAS) of the Royal Navy, was between five and six months in Africa, between Cape Blanco and the River Gambia, in 1783 and 1784.

WILSON (Mr. ISAAC) surgeon in the navy, made one voyage to Africa in the Elizabeth, Smith, from London.

WOOLRICH (THOMAS, Esq.) was in the West-Indies from 1753 to 1773.

YOUNG (Sir GEORGE) Captain in the Royal navy, was four voyages to Africa, in 1767, 1768, 1771, and 1772.

ADDENDA.

SINCE the former part of this pamphlet went to the press, some things have been mentioned to the editor in favour of the slave trade, which it seems necessary to notice by way of postscript.

1. "It is imagined their own country is so barren, and the inhabitants so numerous, that if they were not sold for slaves, they must be murdered at home to rid the land of its burthen." In answer to which it is said by a late writer, that, "The part of Africa whence the negroes are brought, commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the Coast, in the whole between three and four thousand miles. From the river Senegal (seventeen degrees north of the line) to Cape Sierra Leona, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs eastward about fifteen hundred miles, including the Grain-Coast, the Ivory-Coast, the Gold-Coast, and the Slave-Coast, with the large kingdom of Benin. From thence it runs southward about twelve hundred miles, and contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.

Concerning the Senegal Coast, Mons. Brue, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, "The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of large and small cattle. And the villages, which lie thick, shew the country is well peopled." And again—"I was surprised to see the land so well cultivated; scarce a spot lay unimproved: the low lands, divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice: on the higher grounds were planted corn and peas of different sorts. Their beef is excellent; poultry plenty, and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life."

As to the Grain and Ivory-coast, we learn from eye-witnesses, that the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation. Fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees loaden with fruit.

The Gold and Slave-coast, all who have seen it agree, is exceeding fruitful and pleasant, producing vast quantities of rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm-wine and oil, and fish in great abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The very same account is given us of the soil and produce of the kingdoms of Benin, Congo and Angola. From all which it appears, that Guinea in general, is far from an horrid, dreary, barren country, is one of the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant countries in the known world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy; and so it is to strangers, but perfectly healthy to the native inhabitants."

Among the productions of Africa, mentioned by the different evidences, may be reckoned *millet of various sorts, pulse, Indian corn and rice.** The last of these articles is much *heartier and better than the Carolina.*

In the next class may be reckoned *cotton, indigo, tobacco, and the sugar cane.* Dalrymple says of the cotton, that it is esteemed *far superior to that from the West-Indies.* He says the *same* of the sugar cane, and as to the indigo, it is considered to be *equal to that from Guatimala.*

In the next class may be mentioned *black pepper*, the same as from the East-Indies, *long pepper, grains of Paradise, red pepper* of various sorts, but particularly *the Cayenne*, a species of *ginger, cardamums, and cinnamon.* Mr. How says of the cinnamon, that one sort of it is *not inferior to that imported from the East-Indies.* Some of the former brought to England *fetched a better price than the latter.*

Besides,

* The African rice has a red husk, but is beautifully white when the husk is taken off.

Besides, there are beautiful woods for cabinet work.

To the above may be added, *wax, honey, palm-oil, ivory and gold; plantanes, yams, sweet potatoes, eddoes, cassada, cocoa nuts, bananas, pine apples, oranges, limes, wild grapes*, and all other tropical productions.

2. It is laid in favour of the trade, that "The slaves have land allowed them to cultivate for their own use, and therefore their situation cannot be so wretched as is represented." It is granted, that in some of the islands a little waste ground is allowed for raising provisions for their own subsistence; but be it remembered, that this ground is frequently two or three miles off from the place where they labour, and as far from their huts where they rest: that in crop-time they labour in general eighteen hours out of twenty-four, and at other times from day-light till sun-set; that, out of crop-time, they have, on some estates, Saturday afternoon and Sunday for the cultivation of this land; but on others they have Sunday only for this purpose, and on others Sunday only in part; for some people, says the Dean of Middleham, required meat for their cattle on Sundays to be gathered twice in the day; and Lieutenant Davison says, he has known them forced to work on Sundays for their masters. But supposing them to have the longest time mentioned, viz. Saturday afternoon and Sunday, the utmost that can be raised will but just give them a bare subsistence, and all the evidences, to whom the question was put, agree that they never knew any one out-door slave enabled hereby to purchase his own freedom. Besides, some of the overseers have frequently taken away the cultivated land, and given a fresh spot of waste ground in lieu thereof, the fruit of their toil has been cruelly wrested from them, and they have had all their work to do over again; thus employed, they have no interval of ease, no respite from their laborious toil. Under the rigorous dispensation of Moses, one day in seven was set apart as a day of rest for beasts, as well as of men; but under the milder dispensation of our glorious

rious Emanuel, these oppressed creatures perpetually bear the galling yoke. Was the affliction of Jacob seen by Jehovah? Did the cry of Israel in Egypt ascend before him? And is he not the same Lord, rich in mercy to all that call upon his name in truth? Was Pharoah punished for refusing to let the people go; and shall we escape if we persist in this disgraceful barbarity? Surely, no: The Lord has begun to plead their cause; he has raised up very powerful advocates, who can speak well in the houses of legislation, while thousands of persons of different denominations, are daily interceding for them at a throne of grace. These are friendly omens of the auspicious day of freedom, and strongly prove, that the God of all grace is about to deliver them from their hard bondage:

FINIS.

